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341

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APPEALS REVIEW FORM

1. Tab 341 contains 6 Covert Documents dated _____.

2. ( ) Previously denied in toto under exemption(s) _____ of _____.

   ( ) Segregable portions previously released; excised portions exempted under _____ of _____.

   ( ) Located during the DDO appeals review.

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3. Further description, identification, comments, and/or referrals, etc.
   1. Staff study - Com. on Internal Security 91st Congress
   2. " " - Com on the Judiciary - 91st Congress
   3. Hearings - Com. on Un. Am. Activities 90th Congress
   4. Hearings - Com. on Govt. operations 90th Congress
   5. Flyer - "Negotiate Now"
   6. Memorandum prepared for Com. on the Judiciary 90th Congress

4. I RECOMMEND: Release in Toto

   ( ) Sustain initial denial in toto under exemption(s) _____ of _____.
   ( ) ADD exemption(s) _____.
   ( ) DROP exemption(s) _____.

   ( ) Sustain initial release of sanitized version with excised portions exempted under _____ of _____.
   ( ) ADD exemption(s) _____.
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   ( ) Name of CIA employee
   ( ) File number
   ( ) Pseudonym
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[COMMITTEE PRINT]

EX-4866

SUBVERSIVE INVOLVEMENT IN THE ORIGIN, LEADERSHIP, AND ACTIVITIES OF THE NEW MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND ITS PREDECESSOR ORGANIZATIONS

STAFF STUDY

BY THE

COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

(INCLUDING INDEX)

Prepared and released by the Committee on Internal Security

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

45-363 O WASHINGTON : 1970

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402 - Price 45 cents

APPROVED FOR RELEASE
Date 19 AUG 1976

34b

Movement II; Robert Jones, [illegible]; Tom Sherman, New Mobilization, Buffalo, New York; and Roger McDonald, Student Mobilization Committee. Since November 1969, the New Mobe's letterheads have shown a national committee rather than a steering committee; the roster, however, remains almost entirely the same as this November steering committee list, with the addition of Mrs. Willie Hardy. See, for example, undated letterheads circulated late November and early December 1969, as well as a recent letterhead dated February 13, 1970. These letterheads list the following honorary co-chairmen: Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Coretta Scott King, Benjamin Spock, and George Wiley. They also list the following national co-chairmen: Dave Dellinger, Douglas Dowd, Terence Hallinan, Donald Kalish, Sidney Lens, Stewart Meacham, Sidney Peck, and Cora Weiss.

337. "INFORMATION LETTER No. 2," Stockholm Conference International Liaison Committee, April 26, 1969, p. 2.

338. Ibid., p. 3.

339. "List of Participants" in the Emergency Action Conference of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, May 15-18, 1969, pp. 1 and 2.

340. Ibid., p. 8.

341. See footnote 336; other members of the steering committee of New Mobe referred to in the balance in this study may also be found listed in the same footnote, together with sources from which the names are drawn.

342. Goodlett was listed as the west coast treasurer of New Mobe in a full-page advertisement placed by the organization in Ramparts, November 1969, p. 33.

343. See, respectively, CALCAT newsletter, Issues and Actions, January 20, 1970, pp. 2-3, and New Mobe press release, February 7, 1970. Among others present at the February 7 steering committee meeting, according to this press release, were: Allen Wiesen, Pacific Northwest New Mobe; Frank Greer, Student Mobe; Bob Greenblatt, New University Conference; Joan Campbell, Cleveland Area Peace Action Council; Gerry Silvius, Committee of Returned Volunteers; Mary Paulden, Honeywell Project, Minneapolis New Mobe; Mark Feinstein, Liberation News Service; Susan Ignatenberg, Revolutionary Youth Movement; Judy Berr, Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee; Mike Zapler, PAYCO; Barbara Dick, NCP; Phil Perry, New Mobe staff; Jan Peery, New Mobe staff; Archie Robson, New Mobe Draft Task Force; Tony Avirgan, New Mobe Draft Task Force; Joan McQuarrie, Student Mobe; Allen Morgenten, Committee to Defend Panthers; Dodi Young, New Mobe project director and husband of Ann Young; Bill Lens, Chicago Peace Council; Doug Dowd, NCC; Mary Leslie, Ohio Peace Action Council; John Mahaffey, CSF; Stewart Meacham, American Friends Service Committee; Carol Lipman, Student Mobe; and Arnold Johnson, CPUSA.

344. "List of Participants" in the Emergency Action Conference of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, May 15-18, 1969, p. 8.

345. Ibid.

346. Ibid.

347. Ibid. See also list of "DOCUMENTS OF THE NEW MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM and of its activities for November 13-15 [1969]," distributed as part of the New Mobe's press kit prior to the November 1969 demonstrations, p. 2.

348. "List of Participants" in the Emergency Action Conference of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, May 15-18, 1969, p. 8.

349. Ibid.

350. "FACT SHEET," distributed as part of New Mobe's press kit prior to the November 1969 demonstrations, p. 1.

351. See editorial "Spring Offensive Calendar" distributed by New Mobe during March 1970; see also New Mobe press release, "DISRUPTING THE WAR MACHINE: March 16-19, 1970," attached to release dated February 7, 1970, cited above in footnote 343.

352. "REPORT OF WORKING GROUP ACTION," Emergency Action Conference of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, May 15-18, 1969, p. 2. This document is part of a Stockholm Conference mailing dated May 23, 1969.

353. Daily World, October 9, 1968, p. 3.

354. See, respectively, KGB letterhead, October 7, 1968; COCL letterhead, February 10, 1969; and ACTS letterhead, January 22, 1969.

355. "PROVISIONAL LIST OF PARTICIPANTS," World Peace Assembly, June 21-24, 1969, p. 78.

356. Ibid., p. 79.

357. Ibid.

358. Ibid.

359. Ibid.

360. Ibid.

361. Ibid.

362. Ibid. See also "SAN FRANCISCO ACTION PROJECT INITIAL INVITATIONAL LIST," attached to memorandum to the executive and steering committees of New Mobe from Sidney Peck, August 7, 1969.

RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETIETH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO SENATE RESOLUTION 216, 90TH CONGRESS

JUNE 20 AND 21, 1968

PART 9

Printed for the use of the Committee on Government Operations

APPROVED FOR RELEASE
Date 19 AUG 1976

have, when we speak of strength within a gang, of fellows who just tag along and join because they have no choice not to join, they feel that it would be dangerous if they did not.

Mr. ADLERMAN. There would be a great deal of fear on the part of the merchants, on the part of the community, on the part of the children in the community, by the parents, and even the schools and schoolteachers, principals, and so forth—there was a great deal of fear——

Mr. MOORE. Was? There still is.

Mr. ADLERMAN. There still is a great deal of fear that has been exploited by these gangs. They have used threats. They have used killings. They have murdered other children. They have intimidated witnesses. Is that correct?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Mr. ADLERMAN. We were talking about extortion before, I show you some of these cards and ask you whether or not you have seen cards similar to these in the windows of any of the shops during the rioting?

(The document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. MOORE. This was during the Martin Luther King riot situation when these signs were put, the April 4 riot situation. Those are the signs they had in the neighborhoods during the riots of April 4 and 5.

Mr. ADLERMAN. And they were put up by whom?

Mr. MOORE. The Main 21.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Would you read them?

Mr. MOORE. This one says, "Do not touch. Signed, Jeff Fort, Main 21, Blackstone Rangers."

The CHAIRMAN. That may be made exhibit 188.

(Document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 188" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MOORE. Jeff Fort did not write this. He can't write.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Somebody wrote it for him?

Mr. MOORE. Yes. I am not trying to be funny, but it is preposterous to have somebody as a director—when we speak of the fourth-grade achievements of the leaders, when you throw his achievements in there with the rest of them, then the leaders' achievements are less than the students within the class. He has no achievements.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Do you believe that a program could work for gang members if it were properly supervised?

Mr. MOORE. Not for gang members, no. I think a program should be for youth within a community. The minute you specify gang members, you encourage others to become gang members. We are fooling ourselves when we say you can work directly with gangs in this area. give them something. What about the kids who don't belong to gangs? They get nothing. So they join so they, too, can get something.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Is there any way you can work the program, utilizing the gang leader's influence over gang members in the community, with proper supervision?

Mr. MOORE. Why gang members? Why can't the communities become more responsible and have it like any other program?

Mr. ADLERMAN. In other words, it would have to be open to everybody?

Mr. MOORE. To everybody.

Mr. ADLERMAN. And not involve the gang members?

The CHAIRMAN. That is enough, itself?

Mr. ROSE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So you were getting prepared and organized for any eventuality like that?

Mr. ROSE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Do you know about the meeting in Philadelphia?

Mr ROSE. Yes, I do.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Would you tell us about that meeting?

Mr. ROSE. I wasn't there.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Tell us what you know about it.

Mr. ROSE. That is where the Revolutionary Action Movement people first came into the picture. That was there.

Mr. ADLERMAN. That is RAM?

Mr. ROSE. Yes. That is where they first came into the picture. A couple of our members went down there.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Did they come to see you in Chicago?

Mr. ROSE. Later they came.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Go ahead and tell us.

Mr. ROSE. They were talking over a list. This is what I was told. I wasn't there.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Who told you this?

Mr. ROSE. Eugene Hairston, the president, and Lamar Bell.

Mr. ADLERMAN. They went to Philadelphia?

Mr. ROSE. Yes. They had a list of people who were to be assassinated the next time big riots started. They were all of the civil rights leaders that you have, like the guys from NAACP.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, if I understand you right, and I don't want to put words into your mouth, they wanted to have some of the nonviolent leaders assassinated?

Mr. ROSE. Yes, sir. all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. All of them?

Mr. ROSE. All the big leaders.

The CHAIRMAN. So the militants, revolutionary leaders, wanted to have their own people assassinated?

Mr. ROSE. This is what I heard. I was not there.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not there, but that is what was reported to you?

Mr. ROSE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Did they tell you the names of the people they wanted assassinated?

Mr. ROSE. Yes, they did.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Who were they?

Mr. ROSE. I can't remember all of them, but there was Jesse Jackson involved in it, and Martin Luther King was involved in it.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Who?

Mr. ROSE. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The CHAIRMAN. He was one of them they had marked?

Mr. ROSE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else?

Mr. ROSE. And the people from the NAACP, I can't remember all their names, because I didn't pay any attention.

The CHAIRMAN. They wanted to kill the leaders of the NAACP?

Mr. ROSE. Yes. The large civil rights groups that are nonviolent,

Negotiation Now!

The present impasse can be broken and a halt put to the increasingly horrible slaughter and destruction of the Vietnam war only if one side or the other shows the wisdom and the courage and the compassion for humanity to take the initiative on a first step."

"A cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam is an imperative necessity to create conditions for peaceful talks."

U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations
March 28, 1967

- We support the call by U Thant for new initiatives to bring about negotiations among all parties to the conflict, leading to a political settlement of the Vietnam war.
- We call upon the United States, the most powerful nation in the world, to take the first step and end the bombing of North Vietnam now and without conditions. We ask our government to take further initiatives leading to a standstill truce.
- We ask North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front to respond affirmatively to any new United States initiatives and to join with the U. S. in a standstill ceasefire.
- We ask South Vietnam to respect and join in these steps.

This course of action presents to the United States a moral alternative to our stated policy of bringing about negotiations by force, or to the devastation of all-out war, and a more realistic alternative than unilateral withdrawal.

We believe that such initiatives now can break the impasse and lead to negotiations and a political settlement providing for the removal of all foreign troops and for genuinely democratic elections in which all South Vietnamese can participate freely.

Name Address City State Zip

[illegible]

[illegible] END THE WAR SIGN YOUR NAME

SUPPORT NEGOTIATION NOW!

[illegible] (Make checks payable to NEGOTIATION NOW)

[illegible] copies of petition statement for circulation in my community.

City

State

SPONSORS OF THE STATEMENT (to date): Rt. Rev. Msgr. Salvatore Adamo, Editor, Catholic Star-Herald; [illegible] Rt. Rev. George H. [illegible], Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburgh; [illegible] Rev. Dr. [illegible], Director, [illegible]; [illegible] Editor, Saturday Review; [illegible]; [illegible] Mormon Church; [illegible] Utah Mining and Construction Co.; [illegible] Rev. Paul L. [illegible], Archbishop, Atlanta; [illegible] Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King; [illegible] Rev. Dr. [illegible], Director, Department of Christian Life and Mission, National Council of Churches; [illegible] Rev. Edward Murray, Boston, Mass.; Rt. Rev. C. Albert Sturz, Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Long Island, New York; Norman Podhoretz, Editor, Commentary; [illegible] Tony Randall, Actor; Joseph D. Kirch, Jr., Attorney, Washington, D.C.; [illegible] Pa.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. John Scanlon, Archdiocese of San Francisco; [illegible] Rev. James P. Shannon, Bishop, Roman Catholic Diocese of St. Paul-Minneapolis; [illegible] Rev. Eugene Smithers, Chairman, [illegible] Rev. Leland Stark, Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Newark; [illegible] Rev. Arthur B. Little, Boston; [illegible] Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Pres., St. Paul's College; [illegible]

APPROVED FOR RELEASE
Date 19 AUG 1976

90th Congress
2d Session } COMMITTEE PRINT

EX-3535

THE NEW LEFT

MEMORANDUM

PREPARED FOR

THE SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER
INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETIETH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

OCTOBER 9, 1968

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

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APPROVED FOR RELEASE
Date 11 AUG 1976

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only the black press and the African press be invited to all future SNCC press conferences (ibid., p. 75).

It was this kind of metamorphosis which transformed SNCC and CORE from civil rights organizations into revolutionary forces calling, not for the entrance of Negroes into society, but for the revolutionary reconstruction of the society.

It was this change which provided them with a common basis for union with other New Left organizations, which also sought the revolutionary transformation of society, one in which integration, as they saw it, would become a possibility. Until then, everything about the status quo had to be challenged, whether it was the selective service system or the war.

Perhaps the major fusion of the civil rights movement with the New Left was found, however, in the person of the late Martin Luther King.

The assassination of Dr. King in Memphis on April 4 of this year was an unspeakable tragedy, an affront to every civilized man. There is an ancient saying that one should say nothing critical about the dead. But a discussion of the developing relations between the New Left and civil rights movement is impossible without making note of the role played by Dr. King in these developments in the closing years of his career.

Martin Luther King, when he first emerged as leader of the civil rights movement, made a number of positive contributions for which he has rightly been honored. During this early period, among other things, he insisted on nonviolence and he avoided association with the extremists. Before his death, however, he had moved into an increasingly open alliance with the extremists and he had become increasingly reckless in his criticism of American foreign policy.

Speaking in New York on April 4, 1967, King called on "all who find the American course in Vietnam a dishonorable and unjust one" to apply as conscientious objectors to military service. He described the U.S. Government as the "greatest purveyor of violence in the world today." (National Guardian, Apr. 15, 1967, p. 13.)

Commenting on Dr. King's speech, Floyd McKissick, CORE leader, said that "Dr. King has come around and I'm glad to have him with us."

A challenge came from Whitney M. Young, executive director of the Urban League. He said that since Negroes "have as their first priority the immediate problem of survival in this country * * * the limited resources and personnel available to civil rights agencies for work in their behalf should not be diverted into other channels."

April 15 protest demonstrations in New York and San Francisco were organized under the leadership of Rev. James Bevel, chief assistant to King. At the New York meeting, King said that he hoped to raise $700,000 to finance the work and that:

> We view the Vietnam summer project as a major organized followup to last week's massive peace demonstration. It will offer a constructive channel for all those who ask, "What can I do?"

Dr. King said the civil rights movement had shown that—

> Arrogant power can be made to yield to organized courage to the fight for peace.

NW 53216 DocId:32397477 Page 11

On April 24, 1967, in Cambridge, Mass., Martin Luther King, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, announced a "Vietnam summer drive" against the war and against U.S. interventions elsewhere. He said that the drive would include antidraft activities, sponsorship of peace candidates in local and State elections, and referendums in municipal elections asking for an end to the war. "We throughout the Nation who oppose the war must reach others who are concerned," Dr. King said. "It is time to move from demonstrations and university teach-ins to a nationwide community teach-out" (Washington Post, Apr. 24, 1967, p. 1).

Dr. King was joined at a news conference by pediatrician Dr. Benjamin Spock and Robert Scheer, editor of the radical Ramparts magazine. A pamphlet distributed at the conference stated the long-range aim of the organizing effort is the creation of a vocal, strong antiwar block by 1968. "We aim at more than changing a vote or two in Congress," the pamphlet said, "We seek to defeat Lyndon Johnson and his war."

A statement issued by Freedom House strongly criticized Martin Luther King for lending his "mantle of respectability" to an anti-Vietnam war coalition that includes well-known Communist allies and luminaries of the American left. The paper said that Dr. King had "emerged as the public spear carrier of a civil disobedience program that is demagogic and irresponsible in its attacks on our government." Joining in this statement was Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP and a member of the board of directors of Freedom House (New York Times, May 21, 1967).

In an advertisement in the New York Times a call for "Vietnam Summer 1967" was made under the names of Dr. Martin Luther King, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Robert Scheer, Dr. John C. Bennett, Carey McWilliams, and a number of others. The statement noted that—

> Vietnam Summer is a call for 10,000 volunteers, including 2,000 full-time workers, to spend the summer in 500 communities organizing and educating against the war. * * * Vietnam Summer is a project to reach the millions of citizens in communities across the Nation who oppose the war in Vietnam but whose voices have not yet been heard (the New York Times, Apr. 30, 1967, p. 4-E).

The goal of this project was to create "a new, independent force in America which will undertake a broad range of concrete actions to end the war." The group proposed to stimulate antiwar feeling among young people and to encourage them in their refusal to join the Army or fight in the war.

The antidraft aspect of the New Left has been adopted by many within the civil rights movement. On May 1, 1967, Cleveland L. Sellers, Jr., one of the three major officers of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, refused to be inducted into the Army. The 22-year-old Negro called the Vietnamese war a "racist conflict" and joined with Stokely Carmichael, then student committee chairman, in accusing the United States of drafting large numbers of Negroes as part of a plan to commit "calculated genocide." At the same time, Carmichael announced that 15 other student committee workers had refused induction within the previous 3 months as part of the organization's campaign against the war in Vietnam (New York Times, May 2, 1967, p. 11).

In an interview, the Reverend James Bevel, assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King, and head of the April 15 antiwar march in New York and San Francisco, was asked how he would "implement" antidraft sympathies. "You don't need a whole lot of complicated plans," Bevel said. "When Mr. Johnson comes around to get you, you just say: 'I won't go.'" He expressed the view that—

> Mr. Johnson is not going to stop, but we won't stop either. We're going to organize students by the thousands to go to jail by the thousands. * * * We're going to have a radical summer. We're going to say to young people, you must get out of the school and into the streets. * * * Close down New York City. * * * Tell Mr. Johnson plain that he is going to have to stop killing the folks in Vietnam (the Washington Post, Apr. 30, 1967, p. C-4).

An antidraft organization was established at predominantly Negro Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga. Seventy-eight students signed a petition which declared "We cannot conscientiously permit ourselves to be used as objects in war." Henry Bass, a spokesman for the Atlanta Committee to End the War in Vietnam, said that—

> the Morehouse guys are pledged to seek legal classification as CO's; that is, they are pledged not merely to opt out by going to Canada, staying in graduate school, fathering children, etc., but actually to combat the draft (National Guardian, Apr. 29, 1967, p. 3).

Despite all of this activity within the civil rights movement, there has also been a strong reaction against it by traditional advocates of civil rights and by many Negro leaders.

Speaking at Howard University in Washington, D.C., Richmond M. Flowers, Alabama's former attorney general and a racial moderate, charged that Stokely Carmichael had betrayed Negro interests and that Martin Luther King, Jr., was wrong to oppose the war in Vietnam. He called Carmichael's draft card burning exhortations "almost treasonous" and compared Carmichael with former Alabama Governor George Wallace and suggested that the two men run on the same ticket for President and Vice President.

> I do see a very close parallel with such a leader defying a draft notice and the Governor of a State standing in a schoolhouse door in defiance of a Federal court order that admits a qualified citizen of that State to the State university and attempts to exclude her for the sole reason that she is a Negro.

He said:

> Defiance is defiance, whether you are defying a draft notice or a Federal court order (Washington Post, May 3, 1967, p. A-9).

Flowers noted that "black power, defiance, and black supremacy are just as immoral and illegal as white power, defiance, and white supremacy." Turning to Dr. King, he said that there is no connection between the civil rights movement and the war in Vietnam:

> I fear that certain leaders have taken this attitude in order to keep themselves in the news rather than spending their energies to improve the Negro's position in this Nation. * * *

Dr. Ralph Bunche, a member of the NAACP's board of directors and longtime Negro leader, said that—

> In my view, Dr. King should positively and publicly give up one role or the other. The two efforts have little in common (New York Times, Apr. 19, 1967, p. 21).

At the antiwar meeting in New York on April 15, Dr. King found himself doing what he once said he would not do. He appeared on the

Speaking in New York, Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, said he thought Dr. King was sincere in making the prediction, "But I think it's dangerous. * * *" He said that "less disciplined persons" might interpret such warnings as encouragement to riot (New York Times, Apr. 21, 1967).

The leader of a group of West Side Negro ministers in Chicago declared that Dr. Martin Luther King should "get the hell out of here" because his civil rights marching in Chicago last summer "created hate."

The Reverend Henry Mitchell said that—

> If he wants to march on the West Side, let him march with rakes, brooms, and grass seeds.

He noted that the ministers represented the sentiments of 50,000 Chicago Negroes who want "peace, love, and harmony," don't approve of civil rights marches, and "just want to live in their communities and upgrade them." (Chicago Tribune, Apr. 20, 1967).

Scores of Howard University students chanted "Burn, baby, burn" as an effigy of Selective Service Director Lewis B. Hershey was set afire during a campus rally on April 19, 1967. The burning was spontaneous, following hangings of effigies of Hershey, University President James M. Nabrit, Jr., and Dean Frank Snowden of Howard's College of Liberal Arts. After the hangings and a round of speeches denouncing Nabrit and Snowden as "Uncle Toms," someone in the crowd of more than 400 students yelled, "Burn that white muffinhead." Other students quickly took up the cry, shouting "burn him" and "Naplam him." (Washington Post, Apr. 20, 1967.)

Before the hangings most of the crowd jammed into a hallway in a campus building where a number of students were facing disciplinary charges for forcing General Hershey to cancel a speech at Howard on March 21. Outside the building Ronald O. Ross, cochairman of the Project Awareness student committee that had invited Hershey to speak, said:

> I'm sorry I invited him. I don't want him to speak. He's a white man (ibid.).

Referring to university charges that the students "disrupted the * * * orderly operation of the school," Ross continued:

> With this rope we're going to disrupt it some more. We don't intend to be responsible. We intend to be black * * * He [Nabrit] is reading Homer and shooting this university to pot. I say we don't have time for Homer. First let's get rid of every Uncle Tom around here (ibid.).

A cache of arms, ranging from a slingshot to a sawed-off rifle, was uncovered by police in a raid on a Harlem theater noted for its production of plays with antiwhite themes. A police inspector said the raiding party also found a rifle practice range in the basement of the Black Arts Repertory Theater. Officers arrested six men, including one who was armed and tried to block detectives at the door. Police said they found a sign inside the theater which read:

> All weapons cleaned and sharpened by 6 p.m. All weapons will be inspected by Khan, the Leader.

The theater is the same one founded by bitterly antiwhite poet-playwright LeRoi Jones with partial support from antipoverty funds (Washington Post, Mar. 18, 1966).

against things as they are, regardless of whether the things be detrimental or beneficial.

It is for this reason, too, that violence becomes a tactic which in the eyes of the Negro New Left, is wholly permissible. It is, after all, the established order of doing things to call for rational discourse, debate, and a democratic and peaceful settlement of disputes. If the New Left-civil rights coalition disputes the establishment in all areas, it also disputes the establishment with regard to violence.

It is important that the majority of Americans recognize the fact that these revolutionary views are held by only a small minority of Negroes. Yet, like the non-Negro New Left, it is a militant, vocal and active minority and it makes its presence felt out of all proportion to its numerical strength. Racism in reverse may be an understandable reaction to many years of discrimination and suffering, but it is the kind of reaction which will prevent real progress in the very important area of race relations.

Martin Luther King's brief membership in this coalition, that he had become willing to appear on the same platform and program with the black power advocates he shunned only a short time before, indicates that his own views had changed significantly. The fact that Negro opinion has been sharply divided over the new affiliation of portions of the civil rights movement with the antiwar movement was pointed out in a recent study of the effect of the war in Vietnam upon American life:

> The peculiar conflict in Negro sentiment emerged strikingly, too, in a measurement of current attitudes toward Nobel laureate Martin Luther King. Has King's outspoken anti-Vietnam war stand, the pollsters asked, damaged the civil rights movement? Only 37 percent of the Negroes (as compared with the 64 percent of the general public) answered "Yes." Yet, significantly, the poll suggested a dramatic decline in King's popularity among Negroes. Only 15 percent of them, in fact, said that they would vote for him if he ran for President. The chief reason for this does not seem to be King's pacifism. Rather, it apparently is that his antiwar activity has beclouded his previous role as a champion of the Negro cause per se. "The war isn't King's problem," says the mother of a Negro GI from Chicago, "but the Negro people is, and he ought to stick to it" (Newsweek, July 10, 1967, p. 34).

Despite the efforts of the militants, Negro participation in antiwar protests has been slight. Many see a parallel with past efforts of the Communist Party to enlist Negro support for a separate Negro Republic in the South by identifying themselves with civil rights activities. But for the limited response to the black power appeal, it would appear that the current New Left attempt to use the Negro as a catalyst for revolution will fail as dismally as have past efforts to exploit the American Negro for revolutionary purposes.

The split which has been growing in the civil rights movement since the association of some of its members with the New Left, antiwar movement, has seen conflicting organizations and viewpoints arise.

Ex-convict Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panthers' "Minister of Information" and presidential nominee of the Peace and Freedom Party, explained his revolutionary goals to a group of San Francisco lawyers:

> America is up against the wall. This whole apparatus, this capitalistic system and its institutions and police . . . all need to be assigned to the garbage can of history and I don't give a _____* who doesn't like it. If we can't have it,

*Some obscene words used by New Left activists have been omitted from these articles. Although it might be argued that to quote such language would help to depict the nature of these militants, the most offensive words were deleted because they were found to be objectionable under congressional standards.

Stokes noted that

> . . . you must not confuse some of the many disturbances around our country that have reflect reaction of people to an unresponsive city administration or to a continually frustrating environment. The acts of the people the other night were just deliberately contrived lawlessness and determination to commit violence among this small group. (Washington Post, July 28, 1968.)

Experts state that the key figure in the conspiracy was Fred "Ahmed" Evans, a local black power leader who has been linked to the pro-Peking revolutionary action movement. In May 1967, Det. Sgt. John Ungvary, head of the Cleveland police department's subversive squad, said that terrorists under Evans' direction were plotting a "black revolution" to coincide with "a war between Red China and the United States." Evans, who was arrested during the riots, was charged with shooting to kill. "If my carbine hadn't jammed I would have killed you three," police quoted him as saying. "I had you in my sights when my rifle jammed." Evans told police that he and 17 others had organized the sniper attacks that resulted in the deaths of three policemen. Told that three of his snipers had been slain, Evans said, "They died for a worthy cause." Phil Hutchings, militant head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, told newsmen that the Cleveland outbreaks were "the first stage of revolutionary armed violence." (Human Events, Aug. 3, 1968.)

It is evident that a certain segment of the "civil rights" movement has turned to separatism and to violence. It has joined forces with the New Left in opposing the very structure of American society, and in calling for defeat abroad and revolution at home.

Those who truly seek civil rights, who truly seek an American society in which Negroes and whites share a common citizenship, are disturbed with this trend among younger, more militant Negro spokesmen. This concern was expressed by former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John Gardner:

> Negro extremists who advocate violence assert that non-violence did not work. It is untrue. The greatest gains for the American Negro came in response to the non-violent campaigns of Martin Luther King, Jr., and (before it turned violent) SNCC. It is the fashion now to belittle those gains, but they were great and undeniable. They were registered in historic civil rights legislation and even more emphatically in social practice . . . The violent tactics of the past two years have brought nothing but deepened hostility between the two races and a slowing down of progress in the necessary drive toward social justice . . .
>
> Nor do those who condone violence ever speak of the legacy of bitterness and division that will be left by increasingly harsh outbursts of destructive interaction. What good will it do to dramatize the problem if, in the process, hatreds burn themselves so deep that the wounds permanently cripple our society . . . To date the moderates—both Negro and white—have been all too silent. (Reader's Digest, June 1968.)

The joining of forces between the New Left and certain elements of the civil rights movement is a dangerous symbol of the extremism toward which we are moving. Part of the reason for its success, as Secretary Gardner has said, is that the moderates have not stemmed the tide. In many cases, they have encouraged it, fearing to lose their own leadership role. If this continues, society will face an ever more serious problem. Violence begets violence, and the gains of the past will be in danger. This would be harmful to all Americans. Only those who appreciate the gravity of this new coalition can act to defeat its influence and power.

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The April 15 March and Plans for the Future

April 15, 1967, marked the culmination of one important phase of the antiwar movement and saw large numbers of marchers parading in New York and San Francisco. The New York City Police Department's Office of Community Relations said that police officials at the United Nations Plaza estimated the number of demonstrators at between "100,000 and 125,000." The parade was led by the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., Dr. Benjamin Spock, and Harry Belafonte, and was sponsored by the Spring Mobilizing Committee To End the War in Vietnam, a loose confederation of New Left, pacifist, and more moderate antiwar groups (New York Times, Apr. 16, 1967, p. 1).

About an hour before the parade started a crowd of young men gathered on a rock in Central Park to burn their draft cards and demonstrators said that "nearly 200" were burned. As each card caught fire, a throng of several thousand persons, many of whom carried or wore daffodils, chanted "flower power."

In one area of the park, where the demonstrators gathered prior to the march, the U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam built a 40-foot-high tower of black cardboard tubing. They then attached a number of flags of blue and red with a gold star in the center, the flag of the Vietcong.

Most of the marchers carried signs that had been authorized and printed by the Spring Mobilization Committee. Among the slogans were "Stop the Bombing," "No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger," and "Children Are Not Born To Burn." There were also many "unauthorized" banners and placards. One, a bed sheet carried by three young men, bore in large black letters the words "Ho Chi Minh Is a Virgin" (ibid.).

One of the significant things about the march was the fact that it represented a new coalition of the so-called hippie left and the more traditional political left. One eye-witness report stresses this fact:

> The marchers, variously estimated at from 100,000 to 300,000 gathered at the Sheep Meadow in Central Park, and the first impression the visitor received was that of a summer afternoon outing. The Angry Arts Against the War Committee performed several plays, portraying mean and vicious Americans murdering innocent and noble Vietnamese. Poems were read, and songs were sung, and at one point the meeting was interrupted by an announcement that one of the audience was needed immediately on "Hippie Hill," where he was to participate in a rock 'n roll group.
>
> "Hippie Hill" was the point in the park where the advocates of LSD, marijuana, and other drugs met and performed their own private ritual. One sign there stated that "War Is a Bad Trip," and a small group continually beat their improvised drum and rythmically chanted "LSD, LSD, LSD."
>
> Another part of the Sheep Meadow was used for what was politely known as the Radical Contingent. High atop a tower were the flags of the Vietcong, and money was being raised to send to North Vietnam. A leaflet distributed by the U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front stated that "To be effective the peace movement must come out in support of the NLF. The Peace Movement should work to show that the real enemy of Americans is not in Vietnam but in our own country."

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We are engaged in a war that seeks to turn the clock of history back and perpetuate white colonialism. The greatest irony and tragedy of it all is that our Nation which initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit in the modern world, is now cast in the mold of being an arch antirevolutionary (National Guardian, Apr. 22, 1967, p. 2).

Showing the ambivalence of the critics to the nature of the Vietcong, Prof. Howard Zinn of Boston University told the New York rally that—

* * * This administration has said a social revolution is needed in this destitute and crippled country, which we have helped to make destitute and crippled. Who could better carry out such a revolution than the National Liberation Front? * * * it is quite clear * * * that the National Liberation Front can do a more efficient, humane, and democratic job of running South Vietnam than either Premier Ky or General Westmoreland or Ellsworth Bunker (ibid.).

According to antiwar spokesmen, the mobilization represented the broadest coalition of "peace" groups. One peace group which did not support the demonstration was the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, but William Price, National Guardian reporter, noted that "throughout the crowd, banners appeared identifying participants with local Sane chapters." One delegation estimated at 350 marched behind a huge red banner lettered in gold: "Communist Party, New York State Area." In the group was Gus Hall, Communist Party national chairman. Communist Party public relations head Arnold Johnson said frequent applause had come from onlookers and interpreted this as "approval of the open participating of the party in the political life of the country." Such participation, he said, marked the end of McCarthyism (National Guardian, Apr. 22, 1967, p. 1).

A leaflet distributed at the rally, and published by the U.S. Committee To Aid the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (Box C, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y.), said the following:

The U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam urges you to show your opposition to the U.S. Government's aggression by expressing your support for the Vietnamese peoples' fight in defense of their liberty. The time has come to decide which side you are on!!! The USCANLF-SV wishes to help give the Vietnamese NLF a voice in the United States and believes that to be effective, the Peace Movement must come out in support of the NLF. The Peace Movement should work to show that the real "enemy" of Americans is not in Vietnam, but here in our own country.

At the New York rally Stokely Carmichael called Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara "a racist," Secretary of State Dean Rusk "a fool," and President Johnson "a buffoon." William Pepper, the author of "Children of Vietnam," called for an end to "the reign of Lyndon Johnson" and proposed a national ticket of Martin Luther King and Dr. Benjamin Spock. Howard Zinn of Boston University called for "the most magnificent, elegant withdrawal" from Vietnam, with the bands playing and "Bob Hope cracking jokes" (Washington Star, Apr. 16, 1967).

One contingent of militant Negro protestors broke away from the main line of march in New York and proceeded on their own to the Times Square area. The following report appeared in the May–June 1967 issue of Black Mask, a black nationalist publication in New York City:

"Hell No! Blacks Won't Go!" Waiting in Central Park for the April 15 mobilization farce to get underway, the Harlem contingent is spotted making their way down Central Park West. They would not take the legal parade route, but would

but to "orient it toward * * * the revolutionary organization whose program does provide the basis for such a general struggle."

Protest leaders viewed the results of the April 15 march optimistically, and many expressed the view that this represented "only a beginning." The Reverend James Bevel, committee director and a close associate of Martin Luther King, viewed the April 15 action as "the beginning of a mass movement against mass murder." He said that the aim of the new movement "will be to get Johnson's troops out of Vietnam by Christmas."

Jack Smith of the National Guardian asked the question: Is it possible in the United States at this point to develop a mass, broad-based anti-Vietnam war movement with the potential of seriously affecting government decisions? His answer:

> A year ago the answer would have been an immediate unqualified "no." Today the answer from some leaders in the antiwar struggle is a cautious, qualified "perhaps." This response is forthcoming even though there may have been more antiwar action a year ago, and the movement, on the surface, has been in decline in recent months.
>
> The next several months will determine whether this year's more optimistic prediction has substance. Part of the answer depends on whether there has been a qualitative change in the mood of the American people toward the war. Part depends on the existing antiwar movement itself and whether it is able to capitalize on any such change (National Guardian, Apr. 4, 1967, p. 13).

A significant change in the approach of organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society is that they no longer seek to express their disapproval of either the war or the American society through mere sporadic protests, or "dropping out," or what they call the "parliamentary games" of liberals.

What they seek to do is develop a political awareness and move from "nonpolitical protest to political resistance." In order to do this it believes that "alienated youths must be brought to understand that their 'personal' problems are collective—the result of a society in which man is increasingly distant from the decisionmaking process." The cause for such distance, the New Left seems to be saying more and more, is the entire economic, social, and political structure of society. Programs are now being devised to expose the powerlessness of the "unrepresented" groups in society, and among these the major ones are opposition to the war, opposition to the draft, and an effort to achieve "student power." The long range goal is "not power for this particular class, but the development of this class into a revolutionary force that would work with other oppressed classes in society" (National Guardian, "SDS Aim: To Build Revolutionary Consciousness, Apr. 15, 1967, p. 5).

The national secretary of Students for a Democratic Society, Gregory Calvert, said that "We are working to build a guerrilla force in an urban environment. We are actively organizing sedition" (New York Times, May 7, 1967). New York Times reporter Paul Hoffman stated that "during a 3-week series of interviews with some 75 New Left activists and sympathizers from coast to coast * * * some sounded much more truculent than members of the Moscow-oriented Communist Party, U.S.A." He reported that Che Guevara's picture was found on the walls of the offices of radical newspapers and left wing groups and that "His name cropped up in talks whenever the New Left's current infatuation with direct action was mentioned.

The Chicago Conference on New Politics

Lest anyone believe that the New Left's interest in American politics is limited to simply criticizing the "establishment" and the mores and standards of our society, the National Conference for New Politics, which took place in Chicago during the first week of September 1967, should be sufficient to establish that criticism plays only a minor role in this New Left's attacks.

Chicago's Palmer House Hotel was the scene of a meeting which brought 2,000 delegates from throughout the country together to decide what political path the New Left might profitably take as it approached the 1968 elections. The group convened on August 31, 1967, for a meeting which may set the tone for radical activity for some time to come. It was, in a sense, the end of one phase of New Left activity and the beginning of another.

Prior to the meeting much discussion took place concerning future possibilities for action. Writing in the Communist Worker, Carl Blake noted that—

> If there is any clear consensus as the convention gets underway, it would be that whatever form the movement takes, nothing will be given up. The participants reject the calls to move "from protest to politics." Electoral action, they say, should move no one off the streets. If new politics is to mean anything, it is said, it will mean more than the ballot box and/or the picket line. (The Worker, Sept. 3, 1967, p. 1.)

In a position paper prepared prior to the Chicago meeting, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs set forth its own approach. It stated that—

> Once the place of the 3d ticket on the ballot is assured, then other work may be undertaken, and a peace ticket in the Democratic primary could be the basis for leading a larger number of Democratic voters to support a 3d presidential ticket in November 1968, after Johnson is renominated. But if there is no peace ticket in 1968 the voters against Johnson will have no place to go except the GOP. ("New Politics for a New America, an Approach to the 1968 Elections," The Worker, Aug. 20, 1967, p. 7.)

Some of the 2,000 participants wanted to field a third party ticket in 1968, headed perhaps by the Rev. Martin Luther King or Dr. Benjamin Spock. Others, however, expressed the view that the whole election process is a fraud and that they should not directly involve themselves in it.

The keynote address was given by Dr. King. He accused President Johnson of betraying people who supported him in 1964. "The promise of a Great Society was shipwrecked off the coast of Asia on the dreadful peninsula of Vietnam," he said. He denounced the war in Vietnam and said that if it isn't ended by next year "all men of good will must create a situation in which the 1967–68 elections are made a referendum on the war. The American people must have an opportunity to vote into oblivion those who cannot detach themselves from militarism, those who lead us not to a new world but drag us to the brink of a dead world." (The Washington Star, Sept. 1, 1967.)

In his address Dr. Spock said the United States should announce

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of the John Birch Society." Their revolution, he said, "is psychological, not political or economic, and they talk loud and long about what they're opposed to, like big Federal Government, but they say hardly anything about what they're for." (New York Times, Sept. 7, 1967.)

Not all Negroes found themselves in agreement with the demands of the militant black power advocates. Joseph Dawson, son of Rep. William Dawson of Illinois, said that "This is not a convention. This is hell. These people have the audacity to say they are helping our cities' Negroes. Well, I am a Negro and they're not helping me." (Human Events, Sept. 16, 1967.)

Prior to the Chicago meeting Professor Peretz wrote in the "New Politics News" a warning of what might occur:

> It is possible that years hence we shall be able to look back upon this national convention as having been a milestone in the maturation of a new American politics * * * But this convention may also prove to be the burial grounds of our hopes and programs and energies. It may become a footnote to history recording not our triumph but our missed opportunities. I fear we may look back upon this convention * * * as being the place where the lefts engaged in mutual vituperation and in fratricide, where ideological absolution displaced both theory and concrete analysis. (Quoted in Washington Star, Sept. 11, 1967.)

The plans for a third party ticket for 1968 never reached fruition as a result of the internal wrangling evident at the conference. Jeffrey L. Hodes analyzed this event in these terms:

> Drained by the Black Caucus, the sponsoring NCNP never was able to pursue its original objective: acceptance of a King-Spock ticket for 1968. Support for Dr. King dissipated after his opening night speech. He not only failed to fire emotions, but the black militants and white radicals wrote him off as passé. Staughton Lynd and Rennie Davis of SDS stated in a position paper that they "unequivocally refuse to condemn the ghetto rebellion" and hence could not back Dr. King who had joined the moderate civil rights leadership in condemning riots and those who incite or provoke them. (The New Leader, Sept. 11, 1967.)

In this analysis, the role of the Students for a Democratic Society and other university organizations is discussed:

> * * * SDS and other university groups believe radicalization means transforming society itself. The real power, they contend, lies within corporations, media, universities, and the military. In addition, they claim elections are manipulative and tied to existing value systems. Voting then, in SDS's lexicon, is a passive act that gives one a choice between options provided by others—the height of powerlessness. SDS prefers to concentrate on local organizing in urban ghettos and universities, on advancing counter-communal institutions, on altering consumers and students to the "system" and on radicalizing the poor.

Others in Chicago sharply differed with the SDS approach. Dan Kolodney of Berkeley's New Action Politics believes the Presidency the focus of American politics. He urged the idea that providing a third choice widens the limits of national debate and threatens the existing order.

Two clear-cut approaches emerged. The first called for local political action, organizing the ghettos and working class communities, and opposing the war. The second, supported by New York and California delegations, proposed an independent national ticket, with candidates to be selected by a national nominating convention next year.

The compromise which resulted came about in this way:

> To avoid splitting the convention, a premidnight caucus was held in a frantic attempt to iron out a compromise bewteen SDS and the Californians. Mario Burnstein of Berkeley proposed backing the resolution on local organizing

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SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

PART 1

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETIETH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

OCTOBER 25, 26, 31, and NOVEMBER 28, 1967

(INCLUDING INDEX)

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Mayor Yorty was a Member of Congress in 1950 to 1954 and mayor of Los Angeles since 1961.

His tenure in the California Legislature in the mid-1930's gave him an opportunity to study the subject of communism. Since that time, the witness has maintained an interest in Communist activities.

In answer to a question concerning his opinion of underlying factors which caused the riots in the last few years, Mayor Yorty replied:

> I would certainly say that one of the factors is the constant repetition of subversive propaganda, the agitation, and propaganda conducted by the Communist Party within the framework of their historic objective to break down the respect for government, certainly for law and order, and to personalize, as they always do, this objective mainly in the police officer.

Asked if he believed these riots have been spontaneous or planned, the mayor said, "I think that there are some of both." He added:

> I think that the propaganda over the years has been so constant and at times very effective * * *.
> I also think there are some riots where subversive forces have actually planned * * * incidents that they would hope would spark a riot.

Mayor Yorty introduced an exhibit into the record, a pamphlet entitled "The Big Lie." The pamphlet, produced by the Los Angeles city government, contained a short history of the charge of police brutality over a period of 21 years—or since 1946, by the Communist Party.

The witness stated that law enforcement has been handicapped "by the reinterpretation, really the rewriting of the Constitution by the United States Supreme Court * * *." He cited examples of the exclusionary rule of evidence, the rules of search and seizure, and the registration of known criminals.

Mayor Yorty recalled that Lenin, in his writings, as early as 1902, had made reference to police brutality and noted that he knew of no period in history where the "campaign against the police has been quite as effective as it is today."

The mayor was asked if police brutality charges were made in his city during the Watts riot. He replied that an attempt was made "to blame the police for the rioting," and added: "This led to my unpleasant confrontation with Dr. Martin Luther King, who—

> persisted in arguing that the police were to blame for the rioting. Then he went out and got before the cameras and newspapers and made that same charge. I felt it necessary to answer that charge and to tell him that it was very unfair for him to come out to Los Angeles and try to blame the police for the rioting.

Mayor Yorty then stated that he did not "know of any case where an officer has had to be dismissed for brutality."

The mayor noted that there were many people who made charges of police brutality whose motive was to discredit the police department and to carry on the so-called Communists struggle campaign to "break down respect for the law enforcement officials and * * * eventually * * * break down the ability of our Government to operate."

The Los Angeles mayor said that:

> Unfortunately, the nature of news is * * * usually negative. The bizarre makes more news than the everyday hard work of law enforcement.

Mayor Yorty saw a need for people to understand the Communist Party and its apparatus. He said:

ness, inadequate housing and education, poor health, and a myriad of other social ills based on poverty and racial discrimination to bear their lot in silence. Their anger at the obvious injustice of their plight and at the lack of massive programs which would end poverty and racism must be recognized. So long as people feel they have nothing to lose, appeals to logic and reason will fail.

The question is not, then, whether rioting is "compatible with the American system of government," but whether the American system of government has been as flexible and as energetic as it should be in including all American citizens in the fruits of our society. If we were to take immediate steps to end the racial gap which condemns a disproportionate number of Negro citizens to poverty and inadequate necessities of life, we would not have to worry about rioting.

The second question posed by the chairman is: "Whether or not Communists sincerely have the interests of the Negro at heart and Negroes therefore can accept them and work with them in their efforts to achieve full equality in this country."

In every country in which there exists a poor and downtrodden group in the population, the Communists have found their strength in that group. In every country that is, but the United States. The Communist Party has spent much time and effort in wooing the Negro population, all to no avail. If anything, its appeal to the Negro population in the United States has been less than with any other group of citizens.

Negro citizens do not want to change the American way of life. The whole history of Negro efforts to secure equality is an indication that Negro citizens desire, above all else, inclusion on an equal basis in American society.

There is little evidence that Communists have any significant influence on the civil rights movement. Their record is not one which inspires trust among Negro citizens, and Negro citizens do not accept them and do not work with them.

The National Urban League welcomes this opportunity to comply with a request for information by a committee of the United States Congress. The National Urban League, Inc., is a professional community service organization committed to securing equal opportunities for Negroes and other minorities in all areas of American life. It is nonpartisan and interracial in its leadership and staff.

[The joint statement referred to on p. 767 follows:]

From: Public Relations Department, National Urban League, 55 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-0302.
Contact: Guichard Parris.

The following is the text of a statement issued jointly by, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney M. Young, Jr., on July 26, 1967, and released from the headquarters offices of the NAACP—20 West 40th Street, New York City:

Developments in Newark, Detroit and other strife-torn cities make it crystal clear that the primary victims of the riot are the Negro citizens. That they have grave grievances of longstanding, cannot be denied or minimized. That the riots have not contributed in any substantial measure to the eradication of these just complaints, is by now obvious to all.

We are confident that the overwhelming majority of the Negro community joins us in opposition to violence in the streets. Who is without the necessities of life when the neighborhood stores are destroyed and looted? Whose children are without milk because deliveries cannot be made? Who loses wages because of a breakdown in transportation or destruction of the place of employment? Who are the dead, the injured and the imprisoned? It is the Negroes who pay and pay and pay, whether or not they are individually involved in the rioting. And what for?

Killing, arson and looting are criminal acts and should be dealt with as such. Equally guilty are those who incite, provoke, and call specifically for such action. There is no injustice which justifies the present destruction of the Negro community and its people.

We who have fought so long and so hard to achieve justice for all Americans have consistently opposed violence as a means of redress. Riots have proved ineffective, disruptive and highly damaging to the Negro population, to the civil rights cause, and to the entire nation. We call upon Negro citizens throughout the nation to forego the temptation to disregard the law. This does not mean

and to accentuate racial issues. The riots and disorders of the past 3 years clearly highlight the success of this Communist smear campaign in popularizing the cry of "police brutality" to the point where it has been accepted by many individuals having no affiliation with or sympathy for the Communist movement.

So, we have a pretty good authority there, I would say, certainly the best in the world, on the effectiveness of this campaign against the police.

Another statement before the Appropriations Subcommittee, which I am certain that you all recall, was made by Mr. Hoover on February 10, 1966. He said:

At a still higher level, the national headquarters of the party, on August 15, 1965, instructed the southern California party district to prepare articles concerning the riots for early publication in The Worker, an east coast Communist newspaper. Special efforts were to be made to play up the "police brutality" angle. Major portions of subsequent issues of The Worker and People's World, a west coast Communist newspaper, were devoted to the uprising in Los Angeles and its aftermath. Each article faithfully followed the line set by party headquarters.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mayor Yorty, were police brutality charges made in your city during the Watts riot?

Mayor YORTY. Yes. An attempt was made, of course, to blame the police for the rioting. This led to my unpleasant confrontation with Dr. Martin Luther King. We had always welcomed him to our city on previous occasions and tried to work with him in the field of civil rights. But, during the aftermath of the rioting, he rushed out to Los Angeles and in a private meeting with some of his aides and our chief of police, Mr. William Parker, he began to blame the police for the rioting.

I pointed out to him that the police department of Los Angeles is run by a civilian commission; they are actually the head of the department. I also pointed out to him that three of the five members were from minority groups and, also, that one of the persons at the meeting with Dr. Martin Luther King was the father of a member of the police commission.

But he persisted in arguing that the police were to blame for the rioting. Then he went out and got before the cameras and newspapers and made that same charge. I felt it necessary to answer that charge and to tell him that it was very unfair for him to come out to Los Angeles and try to blame the police for the rioting.

Mr. McNAMARA. Your exhibit, Mayor, and various items that we have read in the Communist press over the years indicate that many charges of brutality have been made against the police in Los Angeles, as in the case of other cities.

Will you tell the committee whether or not any police officers in Los Angeles, since you have been mayor, have been dismissed for brutality?

Mayor YORTY. I don't know of any case where an officer has had to be dismissed for brutality.

We, of course, investigate every charge that is made to us of police brutality, first within the department, and then I have instructed our civilian police commission that if people are not satisfied with the action of the department that they can ask the commission to hold a hearing.

I think the best example of the big lie technique was the case where one of the newspapers in Los Angeles, not a Communist newspaper, but one that circulates only in the Negro area, had a picture of two

aggression * * * as well as to the anti-U.S. struggle of the people of the whole world.

* * * * * * *

"The American Negroes' struggle is by no means isolated. They will for ever receive boundless sympathy and resolute support from the 700 million Chinese people * * *"

PEKING RADIO BROADCAST, JULY 23, 1967:

"By its ferocity and its ruthless methods in suppressing the Negro movement, the Johnson administration has given a profound lesson to more and more Afro-Americans by negative example. This has greatly hastened their awakening. On the day Johnson made his speech, H. Rap Brown, a young Negro leader who has stood out prominently in the current struggle, forcefully and pointedly replied to Johnson's threats when he gave a press conference and attended a mass meeting in Washington. Brown said that 'the black man has the immutable will to be free and has no recourse but to rebel.' He stressed that 'violence is necessary' and that the black people must get their guns because the white rulers 'don't respect nothing but guns. . . .' His militant speech reflects the determination of the awakening Afro-American masses to rebel."

PEKING RADIO EDITORIAL COMMENT IN ENGLISH ON DETROIT RIOT, JULY 30, 1967:

"The swift and vigorous spread of the Afro-American people's armed struggle against racial oppression has thrown the White House into complete confusion. This proves to the hilt that the US ruling circles who appear to be formidable are no more than a paper tiger. * * *"

"The roaring flames in Detroit have scared the US ruling circles. * * *"

"It is not the fighting Afro-Americans who are afraid of the US ruling circles; it is the US ruling circles who are afraid of the Afro-American masses * * *.

* * * * * * *

"More and more Afro-Americans have embarked on the road of combatting counterrevolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. This is what the US gangsters fear most. * * * If the people in the United States unite, the revolutionary people of the world unite, and together wage a common struggle, the handful of reactionaries in the United States will be completely isolated and besieged ring upon ring by the masses of the people thus accelerating the doom of US imperialism."

PEKING RADIO BROADCAST, AUGUST 1, 1967:

"stooges like Martin Luther King issued statements publicly supporting the Johnson administration's violence against the Afro-Americans. This at once unmasked these champions of 'nonviolence' for what they really are—opponents of the revolutionary violence of the oppressed and supporters of the counter-revolutionary violence of the oppressors.

* * * * * * *

"However, the level of political awareness of the Afro-American masses is daily rising and they have come to realize more clearly than ever the need to resist violence with violence. * * * Neither the US ruling circle's violent suppression nor the humbug of 'nonviolence' preached by Martin Luther King and his ilk can prevent the Afro-American masses from taking the road of struggle by violence and promoting the Afro-American movement."

PEKING RADIO BROADCAST, AUGUST 2, 1967:

"Lyndon Johnson * * * made a speech on 27 July calling for the intensified suppression of the armed struggle of Afro-Americans * * * and asked the Afro-Americans to be 'law-abiding' and 'responsible' and to 'share in America's prosperity.'

* * * * * * *

"But what kind of stuff is American law? Friendrich [sic] Engels pointed out long ago that bourgeois law is a 'whip' against the proletariat. * * * To the Afro-Americans, such laws mean that they must put up with the privation of monopoly capitalism * * *. The broad sections of Afro-Americans and working people in the United States must destroy such laws and smash the state apparatus

organizers prevents virtually the whole of Harlem and the other New York ghettos from being organized into tenants councils right now. Moreover, block councils firmly based on building councils would offer a natural basis for *the organization of self-defense.* * * *"

SPARTACIST, MAY-JUNE 1965, P. 5:

"The illusion of 'non-violence' spread by King and others is a criminal *disarming* of black people, and is consistent with the role of these 'leaders' as agents of the power structure. The movement must scrap these illusions once and for all and begin to organize the Negro people to defend themselves from violence. * * *"

SPARTACIST, MAY-JUNE 1967, P. 54:

"It is the duty of a revolutionary organization to intervene where possible to give these outbursts [riots] political direction."

HARLEM RIOTS, 1964

SPARTACIST, JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1965, PP. 4, 5:

"On this basis SPARTACIST stated early in July '. . . the bourgeois state now prepares to fight openly in the streets through its police arm against the resurgence of the struggle.' This prediction was strikingly confirmed on July 18 and the days that followed as wave after wave of armed, specially trained elite police—the Tactical Patrol Force—swept through Harlem indiscriminately beating and terrorizing all who crossed their paths, when the mood of the ghetto made it clear that the killing of 15-year-old James Powell by an off-duty police officer would not go unprotested.

* * * * * * *

"James Robertson, SPARTACIST editor, described the role of the cops in creating the riots and, in reference to attempts being made to blame the riots on Communists, said that 'unfortunately there aren't many Reds in Harlem now—*but there will be!*'"

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

2811 W. Diamond Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

ORIGIN:

Winter 1963

PURPOSE:

From the Ram Manifesto of 1964: "RAM was officially organized * * * by Afro-Americans who favored Robert F. Williams and the concept of organized violence. * * * ONE PURPOSE—To free black people from the universal slavemaster * * *. ONE AIM—To develop black people through struggle to the highest attainment possible. ONE DESTINY—To follow in the spirit of black revolutionaries * * * and to create a new world free of colonialism, racism, imperialism, exploitation, and national oppression."

In hearings before the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, on February 16, 1967, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, described the Revolutionary Action Movement as "a Negro organization * * * dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary, and its replacement by a socialist system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism."

ORGANIZATION:

Less than 50

Precise membership figures cannot be stated owing to the clandestine nature of the organization. However, it should be noted that RAM does not seek mass membership. Instead, it operates on the principle of a tight-knit, highly selective inner circle of leaders who accomplish their aims through infiltration and subversion of other Afro-American groups, through fronts, and through use of Negro teenage gangs schooled in urban guerrilla warfare.

RAM has units in Philadelphia (home base), Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, and New York City.

There are three levels of membership in the RAM organization: (1) field organizers, (2) active members, and (3) associate members.

TESTIMONY OF GERALD WAYNE KIRK

EX-7044

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PART 2

MARCH 10, 1970

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a couple of other people there with us, but I can't remember exactly who.

Mr. NORPEL. What was the outcome of that discussion?

Mr. KIRK. We realized our position was very good. Our position for influencing the convention was very, very good because we had people who, even if they were not members of the Communist Party, U.S.A. were very much in agreement with our position, even though these people who were not members of the Communist Party, U.S.A. would use rhetoric that may be a little different from that of the Communist Party, U.S.A. One person that influenced people was Rennie Davis, for example.

Mr. NORPEL. His name came up in the discussion?

Mr. KIRK. Right.

Mr. NORPEL. He did not participate in the discussion?

Mr. KIRK. No; he did not. He had other things to do in other parts of the conference, but he was mentioned as a person who was very, very close to the position of the Communist Party, U.S.A., on almost every matter that would come up.

As I mentioned before, Rennie Davis was involved, very deeply, with Earl Durham, of the Center for Radical Research, and at Durham's request, Davis asked me to work for him, Davis.

So, you can see that Davis, even though his rhetoric may be a bit different, it is still very close to his basic position. He is also very close, not only in his positions but in his tactics, because no matter what anyone may say, I know for a fact that he, Davis, could not have traveled to North Vietnam and other places in the Red-bloc countries without having very, very close contacts with the Communist Party, U.S.A. It is not possible to do that unless you do have close contacts.

Mr. NORPEL. Was this meeting in Black's room to which you referred construed as a party meeting, a party caucus?

Mr. KIRK. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. In other words, what developed there was an assessment of the party's position and particularly within the black caucus relating to the National Conference for New Politics?

Mr. KIRK. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. All right, would you continue, please?

Mr. KIRK. Well, I can't remember whether it was that day or the next one, we were on the floor of the convention making various notes and suggestions and the caucus had coalesced by that time. It was, in our opinion, in very good shape. We had people who had been involved in SNCC, people who had been involved in RAM, people who had been involved in various things around the country, a few people who eventually, I think, became members of the Black Panther Party, because there was always a movement of personnel through these various organizations. So we started to take these various votes and realized that the black caucus' position was even better than we had believed at first, and we did eventually in that convention move it to quite a few of the party's positions wanted on the war and on the party's definition of racism, and things of that sort. We got just about everything we wanted, and that is borne out by the fact that the publications and the statements that came from NCNP, especially on the decision to have the ticket of Spock and King which were basic party

positions. There were quite a few people who believed they were real revolutionaries who didn't believe it was necessary to have a ticket or a presidential campaign of Spock and King, but the party believed it was absolutely necessary because it grew out of the dialectical position they had.

Mr. NORPEL. Are you saying that Benjamin Spock and Martin Luther King were chosen for a presidential ticket by the Communist Party, U.S.A. in fact?

Mr. KIRK. Well, the Communist Party, U.S.A. decided that those were the two of the best people that the party position could move for, the party personnel.

Mr. NORPEL. You are not implying then that either Spock of King were or are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KIRK. No.

Mr. NORPEL. You are not implying that?

Mr. KIRK. I doubt they would have to be.

Mr. NORPEL. Now, to go back to this black caucus, wasn't it true that the blacks were numerically inferior when it came to the voting?

Mr. KIRK. That is true.

Mr. NORPEL. That the whites predominated or held the majority of voting participants?

Mr. KIRK. That's true.

Mr. NORPEL. Was anything done about that? Can you elaborate on the way the minority question representing the blacks was settled as far as the votes went, within the convention?

Mr. KIRK. Well, all through the conference or convention there was a theme that was promoted by the Communist Party, U.S.A. years ago, that because of the institutional racism in America and all those terms they threw out, a convention like the NCNP had to do something that would negate the fact that blacks didn't have as many votes as whites, and so one of the positions of the Communist Party members was to support anyone in the black causus and anywhere else in the convention who wanted to change that numerical system. I, myself, did not get to go to the final meeting at which the black caucus voted, you know, on the specifics, but I was there when they came back to the convention, because they had left, and there was some arrangements made, I am not sure of the specifics or the numbers but there was some arrangement made where the votes of the black caucus were more than they would have been simply on the basis of numbers, per se.

Mr. NORPEL. Would you continue on then with what happened at the convention, as you recall it?

Mr. KIRK. Well, there were several speeches amply covered by all the press. The one speech that struck me was by James Forman, who had been an informant—off the record, please.

Senator THURMOND. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Mr. NORPEL. Are you speaking of James Forman?

Mr. KIRK. Right. As you know he had been involved in SNCC and a few other organizations in the South and gave a very interesting talk. As you probably well know, but I don't think many of the people who read this would know, speeches in conventions, especially in this